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## III. NOTES ON COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

**The Philippines.**—Interest in the American dependencies has for some time been centred on the Philippines. The most important of recent occurrences affecting the archipelago have been the passage of the Philippine Government Act by Congress, the President's Amnesty Proclamation of July 4, and the efforts made at Rome by Governor Taft to secure an early settlement of the land question. Organized military resistance to the authority of the United States having ceased, except in the Moro country, all necessity for stringent application of the penalties incident to a military régime has also passed. The amnesty granted by President Roosevelt upon the anniversary of the nation's independence extends to all those persons in the islands who have participated in the insurrection, who have given aid and comfort to persons so participating, for the offenses of treason or sedition, and for all political offenses committed in the course of the insurrection, but does not apply to those who have committed crimes since May 1, 1902, in sections where civil government has been established, nor to persons heretofore convicted of murder, rape, arson or robbery. In the latter cases application for clemency may, however, be expected upon application to the proper authority. Those seeking to avail themselves of the general amnesty are required to subscribe to the following oath of allegiance: "I, ———, solemnly swear (or affirm) that I recognize and accept the supreme authority of the United States of America in the Philippine Islands, and will maintain true faith and allegiance thereto; that I impose upon myself this obligation voluntarily without mental reservation or purpose of evasion. So help me God."

The amnesty does not apply to the districts inhabited by the Moros. These Mohammedan tribes have steadfastly resisted for centuries all efforts to assimilate them, and, with the change to American sovereignty, their attitude has remained the same toward the new rulers as it was toward the Spanish.

The recent hostilities between Moros and Americans have been so barren in results, because of the difficulty of occupying the Moro territory, that the Philippine government will probably be unable for some time to exercise more than a nominal jurisdiction over these southern districts.

In the present issue of *THE ANNALS* the leading article, by Governor Taft, contains a discussion of the political parties in the Philippines; the new Philippine Government bill is also described by Professor Rowe. The new law is the result of a compromise between the moderate and radical views on Philippine self-government, as represented by the Senate and House respectively. One of the problems presented by the Philippine situation is how best to insure the proper education and representation of all classes. The cessation of hostilities, the amnesty proclamation and the general establishment of civil government remove some of the greatest obstacles to progress along the lines named, but the fundamental difficulty is the lack of good roads and schools. Upon these means of civilization depends the political upbuilding of

the people. An attitude of sullen non-participation or one of violent partisanship may perhaps be expected from a considerable portion of the older generation for years to come, but Americanizing influences can well be brought to bear upon the younger elements of the people by means of the school system.

In a total population of 8,000,000 there are, it may be estimated, considerably over 2,000,000 of school age; for these there are somewhat over 5,000 public-school teachers. Such is the obstacle to the political development of the islands.

Widespread attention is being attracted to the land question because of its religious bearings. Attention has already been called in these Notes to the delicate and complicated nature of the matter; it is not surprising that some feeling has been aroused on different sides by the efforts of the American government to solve the problem. Any settlement whatever would probably have given rise to a misunderstanding as to the motives of the administration on the part of those who are unfamiliar with the facts. On his return to Manila from the United States, Governor Taft was instructed by the War Department to visit the Vatican and negotiate a settlement of the vexed land question. This question may be said to possess two different phases, an ecclesiastical and a social or political aspect. From the ecclesiastical point of view the friars of the orders involved are, it is claimed, not acceptable to the people at large, because the people consider them as identified wholly with the Spanish régime. That the friars have acted throughout in the interest of Spanish rather than of Philippine policy can hardly be doubted. But with the ecclesiastical authority of the friars the United States can have no concern. The government could not further or prevent the resumption of this authority. It is in the question as to the ownership of large sections of land throughout the archipelago and especially in the province of Cavite, however, that the American officials have been compelled to adopt a definite policy. The Augustinian, Recolletan, Franciscan and other orders are unable to regain possession of the lands which they claim, the lands in question being occupied by persons who refuse either to vacate or to pay rent. In this situation the Philippine government has decided that a forcible restoration of the friars to the lands which they claim would renew nearly all the grievances which brought on the rebellion against Spanish authority. The problem is much complicated by numerous important disputes over the title to many of the lands, and particularly by the uncertainty as to whether the state or the orders named actually owned certain important parcels of land devoted to public uses. The first and natural policy of the American government was to offer a compromise which might appeal to all parties, viz., the government would buy the lands from the friars and allow the present occupants to retain possession upon payment of a nominal rent with the privilege of purchase. By this compromise, in return for the payment of a large sum, the government would gain nothing beyond the satisfaction of the people now occupying the lands and the retirement of those friars who were intensely pro-Spanish in their sympathies. In order to secure this latter point Governor Taft was instructed to arrange, through the Vatican, for the substitution of friars of

other nationalities, especially Americans, for the Spanish. This would involve no change in the orders themselves, but only a substitution of pro-American for anti-American members of the same orders. Probably no American was better fitted to bring about a settlement of these questions than Governor Taft; his instructions, while giving him ample liberty as to matters of detail, were yet clear and definite. Nine fundamental propositions lay at the basis of the American case, and these were duly presented and received. In reply, the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla, during the progress of the negotiations, sent to the governor two important communications which practically summarize the position taken by the Vatican. The intention is announced to substitute friars of other nationalities as much as possible, to restrict them to the exercise of the spiritual ministry, and discountenance attempts to control civil authority. The generals of the orders concerned, however, felt it inadvisable to make a formal agreement to recall the Spanish members of their orders. In regard to the land question, the Vatican preferred to make no immediate engagement to sell the lands claimed by the orders, but suggested that an Apostolic Delegate might be sent to Manila empowered to negotiate for the assessment of land values and ultimately for a sale.

In short, the Vatican, while apparently willing to negotiate, refused to enter at once into a definite agreement on any of the questions whose settlement was so earnestly desired by the United States. In explanation of this attitude, it must be recalled that each of the orders involved in the settlement is presided over by a general, resident at Rome. These officials naturally command a far-reaching influence throughout the Roman Catholic Church. Their wishes in the matter must, therefore, appeal to the College of Cardinals more strongly than what probably seems the mere importunity of the American government.

When the Papal reply was communicated to the American authorities, the proposals of the latter underwent a modification which is not without significance. On July 14 Secretary Root sent to Governor Taft new instructions which were presented *in toto* to the Vatican. In consideration of the unwillingness of the ecclesiastical officials to agree to an immediate settlement the American government also withdraws its offer to buy first and fix the price afterward by arbitration, as originally proposed. The Philippine government at Manila is to be charged with the duty of fixing a price in accordance with the "practical benefits to be derived from the purchase in view of all the facts then existing." One of these facts to which the Secretary hastens to call attention is that, "contrary to our former supposition, the real and substantial title to the lands in a great measure has passed out of the religious orders and is vested in corporations which they cannot entirely control, and which hold the lands for the purpose of lawful gain, and are alone competent to sell them." From this it may be inferred that the War Department, being disappointed in its hope of an early settlement, will expect to pay only for value received. In his letter of July 14 Secretary Root also asked that the Philippine government be furnished by the ecclesiastical authorities with specifications (a) of the property which the orders are willing to sell

and of their precise relations to the title of such property; (b) of the churches, convents, etc., which it is claimed have been occupied by American troops, and for which rentals or damages have been claimed, with the details of the claim; (c) of the church properties, formal title to which remained in the Spanish crown at the time of cession, and formal conveyance of which from the government is desired; (d) a statement of the various charitable and educational trusts which the authorities of the church consider should be regarded as devolved upon the church rather than upon the state. To this request Cardinal Rampolla replied on July 18, promising that the Apostolic Delegate to be sent to Manila should be furnished with definite instructions, and that he should enter into negotiations with the Philippine government upon the four points named in Secretary Root's cablegram. Governor Taft, after a farewell audience on Monday, July 21, then left for Manila. Curiously enough opposite impressions of the results of the negotiations have prevailed on different sides of the Atlantic. Among some of the foreign residents in Rome there appears to have been a feeling that the Vatican lost a valuable opportunity, while in America a strong sense of disappointment has been evident, not unmixed with the notion that the American case had been, temporarily at least, defeated, or, as certain newspaper reports expressed it, the Vatican had triumphed. If the straightforward language of Secretary Root's instructions is clearly understood, the initiative must now come from Rome. The friars concerned cannot return to their lands, nor can they resume their spiritual authority; the Philippine government no longer offers a general purchase of all the lands, but will insist upon a careful examination of titles, and will offer such compensation as appears proportionate to the commercial value of the lands and to such persons as have undoubted title. Finally, the Philippine Government Act, approved July 1, authorizes the government of the islands "to acquire, receive, hold, maintain, and convey title to real and personal property . . . and acquire real estate for public uses by the exercise of the right of eminent domain." By the provisions of Section 64 of the law this power is especially extended to include lands held by religious associations "in such manner as, in the opinion of the Commission, to affect the peace and welfare of the people of the Philippine Islands." For this purpose the government may sell interest-bearing bonds. Governor Taft and his colleagues are now furnished with ample power to cope with the question in all its phases; for obvious reasons an amicable settlement is preferable, but should this be impossible, the usual procedure in eminent domain may be followed.

**Germany.**—*Special Colonial Civil Service, Forced Labor.* The German colonial council, an advisory body called together by the Government from time to time to discuss colonial matters, is at present considering a question of considerable interest to Americans. The proposition has been made to develop a class of officials with special training for the management of colonial affairs, a system already adopted by England, Holland and France. The recommendations which, it is proposed, should apply at first only to German East Africa, are in substance as follows:

*Qualifications.* The candidate must have graduated from a "gymnasium"

or high school, must have some knowledge of English, have served his time in the army, be under twenty-three years of age and be physically qualified to live in the tropics.

*Special Training.* The young man qualified as above is then to be placed for at least a year in the colonial bureau of the Imperial Foreign Office during which time he is to continue his study of English and also to take up the native dialect [Suaheli] in the Seminar for Oriental Languages in Berlin. Next follows a service of about two years and eight months in the colony itself, in which a further study of native languages, administration, local conditions and tropical hygiene is made. The candidate is also to be employed in all the more important divisions of the local colonial government. In the middle and at the close of this period thorough examinations are to be held, as a result of which the best equipped candidates are to be allowed a furlough for further studies in Berlin. After a space of from one and one-half to two years a third and final examination is to be held, following which the candidate is to be employed for two years again in East Africa. If the services performed during this time are satisfactory, the first appointment as "secretary" is to be made. The applicant for this course of training agrees to remain at least ten years in the colonial service; in case he fails to do so, for any reason except failing health, he is obliged to pay the costs of his training.

The system proposed seems, from an American standpoint, needlessly complex. The English plan of providing a preliminary examination for general education, including political science and economics, and devoting the rest of the special training to language work in London followed by special training in the colony itself, seems much simpler, and, judging by results, it is satisfactory.

Attention has already been called in a recent number of the ANNALS, to the Imperial Rescript providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in certain of Germany's African colonies. The subject of the colonial labor supply is one which deserves more attention than it has heretofore received at the hands of publicists interested in the welfare of colonies. The problem has assumed a particularly difficult phase in Africa where the natives have hitherto utterly failed to respond or co-operate with European efforts toward the development of the country. In a recent number of the *Kolonial-Zeitung*, Dr. Alfred Funke declares emphatically in favor of a system of forced labor. He argues that at the present time actual slavery exists among most of the African tribes in so far as the women are compelled to perform all the work, even the heaviest labor being left to them. Not only is this an odious form of slavery, which nations professing civilized ideals cannot permit, but it also results in the degradation of the natives and forms an effectual bar to the further progress of the African colonies. Without the labor of her own strong men it will be impossible for Africa to lift herself above the level of semi-barbarism. That the question is one of general significance Dr. Funke shows by a reference to Sir George Goldie's recent speech before the London Chamber of Commerce, in which that distinguished colonial statesman, expressed no hope of cultivating industrious habits among the Gold Coast negroes, but favored the introduction of coolie labor from India and Asia. Such a policy, Dr. Funke

believes, should not be adopted except as a last resort, because of the social effects of coolie labor. Doubtless the introduction of Indian coolies would soon result in a general decadence of the negroes even beyond their present conditions. Forced labor of the natives is, therefore, regarded as the natural outcome of the present situation. In order, however, to prevent the gross cruelties which have accompanied the system in Belgian Africa it is proposed to levy a light tax payable in the products of the country, and in this way to offer a stimulus to industry.

It is interesting to observe the far-reaching changes which are being wrought in the political and civil notions of the white races by contact with the backward peoples in the homes of the latter. To one who reads the proposals of Dr. Funke it will not be difficult to understand how a number of Americans as well as Europeans have been led to exaggerate the extent to which our ideas have shifted and to fear a general abandonment of our cherished liberties.

**Cuba.**—*The Administration of the Government of Cuba by the United States.* The following review of the work of the American army in Cuba has been prepared by the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department.

The Military Government of Cuba was established by the United States on July 18, 1898, and terminated on May 19, 1902. At the close of hostilities in Cuba, the military authorities found the island in a state of devastation and ruin, both as to its political organization and in its industrial condition. Without precedent to guide and in part without previous experience in state affairs, the officers of the United States army at once undertook to set up a form of government which would provide sufficient revenues for immediate needs, and which might be developed into a stable and lasting system. How well they succeeded may be best shown by a summary of the fiscal affairs during our stay in the island. From July 18 to December 31, 1898, revenues were collected amounting to five hundred and twenty thousand dollars, mainly from duties on imports and municipal taxation, and these revenues were used for defraying the extraordinary expenses occasioned by the condition of affairs.

On January 1, 1899, there were established in Cuba sixteen customs houses, one at the chief port, Havana, and others at the principal sub-ports of the island. These officers were fully equipped from the outset, and a uniform tariff was observed in the assessment of taxes and duties. The rates were generally about the same as those which obtained in the United States. The principal changes in the tariff have been the gradual reduction of duties on exports from time to time, until April 1, 1901, when these duties were entirely abolished. Post offices were opened throughout the island, and native postmasters were appointed. More than 300 post offices were established, at the greater number of which the officers were bonded, and in connection therewith a money-order system was inaugurated both for domestic and international business. A free delivery system was also established in all of the largest cities, as well as railway post lines, and in many instances, star routes in the interior and country districts, giving to even the remotest places the benefits of a regular mail service.

There was established a Department of Finance, presided over by a Gen-

eral Treasurer and six Provincial Treasurers, one for each province. Subsequently, these provinces were redistricted and formed into eleven so-called Fiscal Zones. These officers conducted the assessment and collection of conveyance, inheritance, commercial and industrial taxes, and administered internal affairs,—municipal schools, hospitals, public works, fostering industries and stocking farms and plantations. Thousands of brood horses and cattle were purchased and resold to the natives on easy terms, enabling them to resume work which would not otherwise have been possible.

The number of school houses provided nearly equals those in this country for a corresponding area. There was constructed a telegraph line connecting the principal cities throughout the island, and maintained by the United States Signal Corps. Public roads were opened throughout the island, which, together with the construction and repair of bridges, have been of invaluable benefit to the inhabitants. Among the most notable achievements in this connection may be mentioned the concrete turnpike running from Santiago to San Luis, a distance of about twenty-four miles. It gives access to a wonderfully fertile section of country, which before had as its only means of communication with the outside world indistinct mountain trails, impassable during the rainy season, or nearly half the year. As a sanitary measure the streets of many of the cities were paved, and extensive systems of sewerage constructed. The harbors of the island were greatly improved, an admirable system of buoys and beacons was established, government warehouses and docks were repaired and constructed and regulations, conforming to those in vogue in this country, governing the harbors of the island were established.

The total revenues from all sources, collected during the occupation were fifty-seven million two hundred thousand dollars, and the expenditures therefrom, fifty-five million three hundred and seventy thousand dollars, the remainder having been turned over to the Republic of Cuba at the time of the withdrawal of United States authority, May 19, 1902. All expenditures were made with a view of contributing to the greatest good of the people there, and throughout the entire period of American occupation the affairs were conducted solely in the interests of and for the benefit of Cuba.

More prominent among the items of revenue are the following:

Receipts from import duties:

Fiscal year 1899 .....	\$6,473,668 28
Fiscal year 1900 .....	14,592,683 04
Fiscal year 1901 .....	14,187,131 41
Fiscal year 1902 .....	12,614,963 97

Receipts from export duties:

Fiscal year 1899 .....	406,408 10
Fiscal year 1900 .....	719,801 43
Fiscal year 1901 .....	988,928 39

Receipts from tonnage taxes:

Fiscal year 1899 .....	227,691 41
Fiscal year 1900 .....	343,007 51
Fiscal year 1901 .....	352,251 37
Fiscal year 1902 .....	336,491 21

## Other customs receipts:

Fiscal year 1899 .....	\$120,692 81
Fiscal year 1900 .....	412,543 92
Fiscal year 1901 .....	422,215 74
Fiscal year 1902 .....	451,461 97

## Receipts from sales of postage stamps, stamped paper, box rent, etc.:

Fiscal year 1899 .....	148,692 70
Fiscal year 1900 .....	237,731 84
Fiscal year 1901 .....	354,806 27
Fiscal year 1902 .....	324,226 74
Fees on money orders .....	48,221 91

## Receipts from Internal Revenues:

Fiscal year 1899 .....	347,431 89
Fiscal year 1900 .....	884,783 29
Fiscal year 1901 .....	658,585 92
Fiscal year 1902 .....	688,581 67
Receipts from telegraph lines .....	238,788 14
Miscellaneous .....	610,417 47

Total revenues for entire period of  
occupation ..... \$57,192,208 40

The figures given herein for the fiscal year 1902 cover only the period from July 1, 1901, to May 19, 1902.

A feature of the expense account in Cuba was occasioned by the condition of the various municipalities, all of which showed large deficits in their annual budgets. In the fiscal year 1899 more than one million dollars was contributed to defray these deficits, and thereafter the schools, police and municipal hospitals and charities were maintained almost entirely at the expense of the insular government. This condition has been very largely overcome, and the majority of the municipalities are now self-sustaining. The insular revenues, however, were used to support the municipal schools and charities to a very large degree as well as in payment for the extensive sanitary work up to the close of the American administration.

The following is a summary of expenditures made from Cuban revenues:

State and government .....	\$2,763,164 58
Justice and public instruction .....	11,105,838 09
Finance .....	1,847,645 15
Rural guard and administration .....	5,247,685 68
Agriculture, industry and commerce .....	1,129,535 30
Barracks and quarters .....	2,524,682 25
Public buildings, works, ports and harbors...	5,955,390 67
Custom service .....	2,922,796 15
Postal service .....	1,625,809 53
Census .....	380,393 44
Charities and hospitals .....	4,128,057 50

Sanitation .....	\$9,703,457	23
Quarantine .....	694,624	81
Other municipal expenditures .....	4,456,099	10
Miscellaneous .....	886,190	96
		<hr/>
Total .....	\$55,371,370	44

The buildings selected for barracks and quarters for the army were used only temporarily by the troops, and when put in thorough repair and good sanitary condition were turned over to the municipalities as hospitals. Many of the most completely appointed hospitals in the island have been fitted out in this way. It follows that when consideration is given to the short time which the troops actually occupied these buildings the amount charged against appropriations for barracks and quarters is much greater than would have been necessary had not the selection of quarters been made a secondary consideration.

That the administration of the Department of Sanitation was judicious and thorough in its results, is apparent in the large decrease of the death rate in the island since modern sanitary measures have prevailed. The death rate prior to this time had been as high as 80 and 90 in the thousand, but decreased to less than 23 in one thousand; and during the season just passed, when yellow fever was formerly at its height, Havana was entirely free from this epidemic.<sup>1</sup>

The Marine Quarantine conducted by the United States Marine Hospital Service has been effective in preventing the spread of contagious diseases; and this service has greatly aided the other officers in their efforts to establish healthful conditions.

The Gulf states of the Union have also profited by these measures.

In withdrawing from Cuba we left a treasury balance of \$635,000, and balances in the hands of collectors and disbursing officers aggregating \$1,200,000,—constituting an ample working capital for the inauguration of the new republic.

All branches of the government were organized and had been gradually put into the hands of native officers who had been associated in the respective departments with American administrators, whereby opportunity was given for a full understanding of our methods of government.

The former Assistant Auditor under the American administration became the Auditor for the new republic; the Assistant Treasurer became the Treasurer; the native administrators of Justice, Finance, Public Instruction and Public Works, continue to hold office under the Cuban government. A clear title to the public buildings, roads, wharves and school houses passed to the Cuban republic. There stands out prominently above all other considerations the fact that the United States put forth every effort for the betterment of Cuba and her people.

<sup>1</sup> See notes on Colonies in ANNALS for May, 1902.